/120 cont./
the simplest possible form. Three rocks provide the lateral support or stand for the pots, of which there are two at most, a metal one, usually of aluminum, and an earthen one. Very poor families have only one earthen pot, which is relatively cheap to buy. The earthen pot cannot be hung up; it is set between the three fire-stones in such a way that it cannot tip over, whereas the aluminum pot is hung by its handle on a soot-covered, angled stick that hangs down from the ridge (Ill. 166 /see p. 273/). Above the fire area there hangs a frame made of maize canes and about one square meter in size, on which household utensils and, above all, the rock salt for salting food are stored, airy and dry. Tables, chairs, or stools of any kind are unknown. One generally sits on the hairy side of an untanned and hence board-stiff cowhide, on which one also /121/ sleeps, or one sits on a beam, a block of wood, or a stone. Paez who have seen house furnishings in Inzá or in the dwellings of white colonists have sometimes built for themselves as a bed a sort of bench 30-50 centimeters high, consisting of sticks or reeds laid side by side. For sleeping the customary cowhide is spread on it. These sleeping benches are not used for sitting.

The nights in Calderas are generally quite cool, and the light construction of the walls with cracks between the individual maize stalks does not in any way prevent the cold wind from coming in. In a few houses, near the sleeping area, I saw the walls sealed by means of expressed sugar-cane piled up horizontally. For sleeping, the members of the family lie down in a circle around the fire area, where the fire must be kept going all through the night. This, like all housework, is the task of the woman, who must gather sufficient fuel beforehand and get up every two hours during the night to stir up the fire. Furthermore, she must get up an hour earlier in the morning in order to have the first meal, which is eaten around five o'clock, sometimes even at four o'clock, prepared on time. In spite of this, the men think that they are the ones who do the hardest work and that basically they are the only ones in the village who really work.

The house

/122 cont./

356 824 [825] is swept by the women every day with a broom (ctábando) consisting of shrubs of the pšáhga plant. This plant at the same time drives away fleas. The rubbish is swept out of the house in such a way that even the entrance is clean.

351 417 [231] [137] [313] All around the house and surrounding it at some distance either a fence is erected or a ditch dug about one meter deep, within which the poultry and usually the pigs and sheep are kept. In Calderas, where, because of the low temperature, bamboo no longer grows, the fence is made of wood obtained from the natural growth when a piece of land is burned off. Stakes are driven vertically into the ground at intervals of about two meters and the interspaces filled with small tree trunks, branches, and twigs up to a good meter in length, lying horizontally. Climbing over this fence is done with notched tree trunks or bamboo stalks placed obliquely against the fence as a ladder. Similar notched tree trunks also serve as ladders in the houses (Ills. 168 and 154 /see pp. 274 and 268/).

514 There are no privies. On account of the isolation of the houses, however, it is never difficult for the Paez to find a place off in the brush or in the forest. We never found the paths 264 and the vicinity of the houses soiled with filth. The Paez showed [412] the same tact in eating and at other gatherings. We never experienced smacking of lips or belching, even though their eating habits are somewhat crude, for, lacking spoons, they are in the habit of simply shoving their food from the plate into the mouth with the fingers.

/123/ 2. Clothing and Ornaments

291 The Paez today wear clothing covering their upper and lower bodies. In ancient times, according to the reports of chroniclers, some of them were said to have worn small cotton cloaks, although the majority of them "went about naked, even in the cold mountains" (cited by Hernandez, 1944, p. 191, [302] from P. M. Rodriguez, 1684). They were also said to have painted their bodies with color and to have made imprints on them with stamps,

/128 cont./

241 were only ten by ten meters /129/ square, whereas the largest continuous field occupied an area of about 500 by 250 meters. I was assured, however, that such a large area of land was not required for one family and that the owner would use this large [433] cleared field only little by little for planting. A family can live, so I was told, from a field that measures about 100 by 100 meters, [244] which corresponds to the area of one hectare. In addition, every house has a vegetable garden of about 1,000 square meters in area for the planting of vegetable bananas /cooking bananas/, cabbage, beans, cucumbers, and onions.

241 The clearing of the fields, like the sowing, is done only 476 by men, whereas the harvest may be gathered by women or men. 464 Several men always participate in the clearing and sowing; one [462] man never works alone. At the very least his brothers or sons help him. Otherwise he must ask friends who must be served food and chicha during the work, and whom he likewise helps in 241 a similar instance. On the field intended for planting, first the thinner trees at a height of about one to one and a half meters are cut down with the machete and left lying on the ground as they fall. With this the first part of the work is done, and one has two to four weeks' rest until the felled young trees and branches are dry, but not dried up. Then the men go out into the field again and light the wood, but only the thinner branches of less than an arm's thickness are consumed. This burning takes a few days, and it is not infrequent that a woman helps her husband on the last day in order to burn up the remaining wood. The Paez, [515] by the way, give this handling of the sooty trunks as the only time that they get dirty and must wash their hands afterwards (Ills. 169 to 171 /see pp.275 -276/).

241 The fence which each field must have for protection 417 against the freely roaming domestic animals is built out of the unburned branches and tree trunks. For this purpose rather thick poles are rammed vertically into the ground, and the remaining branches and tree trunks piled up horizonatally to a height of a good meter. In order to climb over this fence one puts a notched tree trunk against it on both sides as a ladder (afd) (Ill. 168 /see p.274/).

/129 cont./
p. 274 /). The same fencing with the same ladder construction generally also surrounds the house gardens of the Paez farms. In case the houseowner has larger domestic animals, such as cows, horses, and sheep, a gate (puélta) consisting either of a regular lath door or a barrier of horizontal beams is built into the fence surrounding his house. In the villages of the civilized Paez, in the /130/ environs of which tree growth is inadequate for the construction of a wooden fence, bamboo is used for the vertical poles, and bundles of dry maize stalks for the horizontal parts.

The entire agriculture of the Paez is digging-stick cultivation (Ill. 172 /see p. 276/). Hoe culture was originally unknown. The house gardens, only recently laid out after the model of the colonists and in which European plants such as cabbage, cucumbers, and onions are cultivated, are turned over with the spade (pála). The digging stick (ãty) consists merely of a pointed tree-trunk or pole, though recently broad iron tips with a socket are being put on the digging sticks more and more. Maize may be sowed throughout the year, but it is generally sowed in April when the rainy season begins. Several men always participate, making holes in the ground about one meter apart in every direction with the digging stick, and putting six to eight maize kernels into each hole. The holes are covered again with only very little earth with the foot, "so that the sprout can come out more easily." The ripening period of ten to 12 months is relatively long. After half a year the field is cleared of weeds once. The harvest period is spread out over approximately half a year, provided that sufficiently large amounts of maize were planted; and for this half year the people practically live "from the stalk." First the young maize (tsót; maize in general, kóty) is eaten half-ripe and only later are the ripe ears harvested and eaten. Every day the men or women go into the field with their bags made of agave fibers and break off only as much as is needed each time for the meal.

Whereas maize may be cultivated at all elevations in Calderas, sugar cane (nyúša) thrives only in the lower, protected localities of the Kokiyó Valley. Its ripening period of two to

/214 cont./

426 however, so that in the case of a deceased poor debtor, the creditor has usually lost his money. Prescription does not occur. 685 A debt forgotten by the debtor may be collected by the creditor 695 years later, if there are witnesses. The situation is similar for 426 the theft of field crops: If there is no witness, no one can be found guilty. If, however, the witness is known as honorable and not deceitful, the accused is judged guilty, even without a con- 692 fession. There is no statement of confirmation corresponding to 695 the oath; similarly, no one condemned for wrongdoing has the 623 209 right to go to Inzá to the judge. For all misdeeds punished by the [782] cabildo, the capitan and gobernador are the first and last authority; they do not act arbitrarily, however, but rely largely on custom [686] and the opinion of the village. This is especially true if someone refuses several times in succession to take part in public works, but it also comes out -- unfavorably -- if a poor man tries to 623 become wealthy on his own. For example, disputes not infrequently 692 break out among the Paez on account of damage to cultivated 685 fields when the domestic animals of one person have broken into 578 the fields of a neighbor. Now the fences around each field must always be in good condition and put up in accordance with the term of use of the field. A fence for a maize field, which requires barely a year to mature, may be more lightly built than a fence around a sugar-cane field, which requires three years to mature. Then when strange animals break into fields with good fencing, the owner may kill them or at least wound them, for example, by [231] cutting off a cow's tail. The owners of pigs fasten a triangular-shaped frame around the necks of their pigs to prevent them from breaking into fenced fields. If the fence is in poor condition, however, and has not been newly erected especially for the planted field, the owner of the animals breaking into the field is not to blame and the owner of the field may not kill them. Of course, the soundness of a fence is to a great extent a matter of opinion, and it happens not infrequently that the disputants go after each 696 685 other with machetes and wound each other considerably. The 417 /215/ guilty party is then, after an inspection of the fence, punished 681

/215 cont./

696 according to the decision of the cabildo. First of all, the animal
685 or the crop destroyed must be replaced, and then the offender is
417 put in the "tree trunk." This is a form of punishment that was
681 formerly used very frequently in other Paez communities, too.
[824] Actually it consists of two tree trunks, into each of which two notches are chopped on opposing sides. The condemned person is put in, with his feet up to the ankles in these rather narrow notches, and then the tree trunks are tightly bound together with
[623] lianas. All the members of the cabildo take part in this work. Then the bound tree trunks are fastened to the ceiling of the council house, so that the condemned man hangs head downward and the trunks cut into his flesh very considerably. There were no other types of punishment. The degree was determined by the number of hours of hanging, which extended from one to, allegedly, 24 hours.

556 Injustices on the part of envious fellow-citizens toward a
626 man striving for wealth manifest themselves by their driving their animals into the man's well-fenced fields. This is done until the person in question no longer feels any inclination to excel over others
[623] through diligence and property. Little is accomplished by com-
[692] plaining to the cabildo, since the gobernador cannot make a de-
[208] cision that runs counter to the opinion of the entire village, and a weak spot in the fence can always be demonstrated somewhere.

692 Other and not infrequent occasions on which the cabildo must
623 act as judge are complaints concerning adultery and support (see
68 above). There are no complaints about verbal insults, just as there is no punishment for this. They are countered by matching expressions. Similarly, unintentional bodily injury, for example, by a machete during joint work or a case of death during tree-cutting, is not punishable. Only if a person shoots his neighbor's eye out with an elastic sling during bird hunting would he be punished, "but not very severely."

1: Nachtigall--268 E-5 (1952-1953) 1955 SC15 Paez SC15

Ill. 154. House with ladder.

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Ill. 155. Our interpreter, Victoriano Piñakué.

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1: Nachtigall--274 E-5 (1952-1953) 1955 SC15 Paez SC15

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Ill. 168. Maize field with fence.

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Ill. 167. House garden of the Paez.

1: Nachtigall--299 E-5 (1952-1953) 1955 SC15 Paez SC15

/CXXI cont./

Plate LXXXV

[210]

Ill. 161. Framework of a house.

Ill. 162. Dwelling of the civilized Paez being built. The walls are filled with earth to the thickness of a post.

Ill. 163 and 164. Construction details of a Paez house.

Plate LXXXVI

Ill. 165. House annex with the chicha trough. In front of the man's stomach hangs the colorfully patterned coca pouch. Married women wear their hair plaited in a braid.

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[352] Ill. 166. The interior of a Paez house. Tables, benches, and beds are lacking. At night they sleep on the floor around the hearth made of three field stones.

[513]
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Plate LXXXVII

Ill. 167. House garden of the Paez with bananas, sugar cane, and yuca.

[417] Ill. 168. Maize field with fence. A notched tree-trunk serves as ladder.

Plate LXXXVIII

Ill. 169. Portion of a field readied for burning. The tree growth has been cut off at hip height.

Ill. 170. Land used by the village, with black surfaces of the fields burned off in preparation for sowing.

Plate LXXXIX

[241] Ill. 171. Paez burning felled trees. The ashes serve as fertilizer.

Ill. 172. Men setting out sugar-cane shoots with the digging stick.

Fire is also set to the vegetation on
/306 cont./
241 the ridges, crests, and windings, where no obvious advantage
185 can be gained and where, instead, it destroys a vegetation that virtually /307/ could be turned into a barrier that would prevent the danger of the animals.

The clearings are also laid out on the banks of brooks, streams, rivers, springs, and damp hollows, which, from a lucrative standpoint, is excellent, since it is precisely there that the harvest yields the most, but it is very harmful, since it destroys the vegetation that preserves the moisture and holds the soil, thus avoiding erosion.

241 The clearing is done by all the male members of the
476 family. But more generally the mingas /communal work-parties/ do it. In this case, the workers first cut with their machetes the grasses, branches, vines, etc., in the lower part of the forest; then, with axes and machetes, they fell the trees. It should be noted that these trees are not cut at the base, but more or less at eye level. The fallen trees are allowed to dry for approximately one month and then are burned. The thick logs remain intact, as does the brush. This is piled up, and sticks are cut to make fencing. This work is also done by mingas. First the stakes are driven in about a meter apart. Then sticks and branches are woven in. The fences are made so tight that they prevent dogs,
• [417] pigs, and other animals from entering. People enter by means of a stick with notches that leans against the fence on either side. These sticks are called a fa, and they are also placed at difficult spots on the paths, chiefly for crossing obstructions.

241 In Mosoco, where the lands are cleared and divided into lots, clearings do not exist. Only in the "paramo," the mountainous region, can they be observed. But the custom of leaving the land uncultivated for several years has not disap-
[824] peared. The fences are made of lechero /Euphorbia/ stakes, a tree that has the peculiarity of taking root and continuing to live. But the use of barbed wire is steadily increasing.

Planting and harvesting

[152] Planting is conditioned by the pluviometrical conditions in Tierradentro. The summer months are January, February, March, July, August, and September, and those of winter are

/332 cont./

476 From the data on the mingas in the three parcialidades,
184 we see that on the whole they have similar rules. But in Mosoco there is already a modified procedure, both in the rewards and in the form of the work. In San Andrés, Calderas, and Lame, a minga is relatively cheaper than paying wages, since they actually buy only salt and coca, when they do not cultivate it on their own fincas.

Communal tasks

476 Among the Páez there is another type of co-operative labor
651 different from the system of the mingas. It might be called communal work, and it pertains basically to the execution of tasks for the common welfare, such as, for example, the construction and maintenance of the roads, bridges, public buildings (schools, church, rectory, house of the cabildo) and the cultivation of the clearing of the saint.

To this end, the cabildo calls upon all the able-bodied men in the parcialidad, who come supplied with their respective rations of coca and work tools.

The execution of the works of communal interest is a duty of every member of the parcialidad, and anyone who refuses to lend his aid is punished by the cabildo and often taken before the Colombian authorities. The greater or lesser effectiveness of this obligation naturally depends on the moral authority of the members of the cabildo and, above all, of the Capitán of the parcialidad. In many parcialidades, the members openly refuse to give their share of labor, and in such cases the roads and public buildings are in precarious condition.

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Foresight and storage

● 487 In all of the native dwellings there are frames plaited with
353 rods and vines above the hearth and also at what we might call
251 the open ceiling. The ones of the fireplace are suspended, while the others rest on the braces or crosspieces that give strength to the walls of the house. This already clearly indicates to us that the natives have foresight. On these frames there are ears of maize tied by their own husks, bundles of wheat, and

/333 cont./

417 bags full of frijoles, which are also suspended from the wall
353 posts. This is also where the grains (lumps) of salt are kept.
251 The amounts kept for the months of scarcity are not sufficient, but there are other comestibles that help them: domestic ani-
[244] mals, cabbages, onions, sugar cane, and coca. In Lame and Mosoco they cultivate a plant which they call ijuca de pijao. It
[464] is an edible discoria /Dioscorea/. We have also seen that want is avoided by going to work as laborers on the fincas of the "whites."

[263] Meat is also kept on the frame above the hearth. They utilize the smoke to preserve it. Salt is not used for this purpose.

251 In the parcialidades of Mosoco, Vitoncó, and San José, where large quantities of wheat are planted, one frequently finds under the eaves of thatched houses bundles of wheat that remain hanging for several months. In this way they preserve it from the attacks of small rodents, and the grain is of excellent quality because it dries out thoroughly.

261 During times of scarcity, the natives do not seek solace in
273 religion. Actually, their defense is in the sale of their own work-
276 ing capacity for a small daily wage, a few eggs of coca, and
[771] food. It should be noted that guarapo and coca are splendid
[464] sedatives against the pangs of hunger. It is curious that one of the
[465] most noted religious fiestas of Calderas is held precisely during a time of scarcity. Large quantities of guarapo are consumed for nearly a month.

Provision of water and firewood

312 In Tierradentro the rainfall is relatively high. As a result, water abounds in small and /334/ large watercourses. This geographical factor leads the natives to bring the water close to their homes by means of a system of drainage ditches that are true engineering works. The distances that have to be faced or the accidents of the terrain make no difference. When necessary,
[777] they use bamboo tubes as artificial channels. This system has been adopted by the "whites" and even by the towns. Since the high parts on both margins of the Paez River are bare of vegetation,

6: Bernal Villa--96 E-5 (1952-1953) 1954 SC15 Paez SC15

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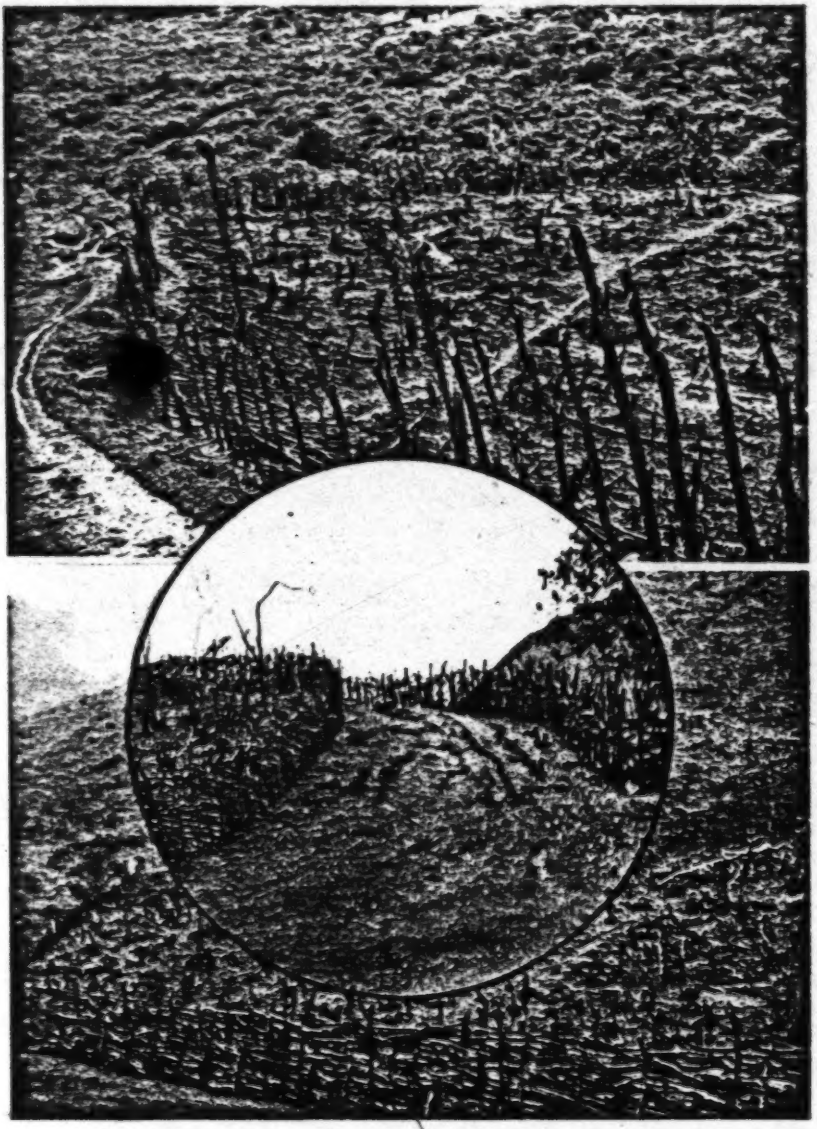

Tierradentro II: Clearings ready for sowing, showing the finished fences and the typical manner of making them (Tumbichukue and Lame).